

## Message Text

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62

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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O 051828Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4150

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 5210

STADIS//////////

EXDIS

FOR HARTMAN FROM THE AMBASSADOR: NO DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE EUR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EAID, PO

SUBJ: ANGOLAN REFUGEES

REF: STATE 210916 AND LISBON 5105

1. I APPRECIATE YOUR PROMPT REPLY TO MY PERSONAL CABLE ON  
THE AIRLIFT. AT RISK OF ABUSING THIS CHANNEL LET MET  
OFFER SOME FURTHER THOUGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT.

2. I AM FORWARDING BY SEPARATE CABLE THE EMBASSY'S ANALYSIS  
OF THE OVERALL IMPACT OF THE REFUGEE OPERATION. WE MUST  
PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THATTHE REFUGEES WILL INTRODUCE  
SEVERE DISRUPTIVE PRESSURES ON PORTUGAL'S SOCIAL, ECONOMIC,  
AND POLITICAL FABRIC NO MATTER WHO IS IN POWER. IN THE  
SHORT-TERM THE POLITICALIRE WILL BE DIRECTED AGAINST THE  
COMMUNISTS AND THE PRESENT PRO-COMMUNIST GOP LEADERSHIP.  
THE IMMIGRANT'S ANTI-COMMUNISM OVER THE LONG RUN WILL BE  
CONDITIONED BY THE ABILITY OF ANY GOP, MODERATE OR OTHERWISE,  
TO DEAL WITH THEIR--AND THE COUNTRY'S -- VERY REAL  
NEEDS.

3. THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION AS I UNDERSTAND IT IS THAT A  
MAXIMUM EFFORT WOULD ONLY BE MADE AFTER THE MODERATES OBTAIN  
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POWER, UNLESS ANGOLA PRESSURE BECOME TOO GREAT. POLITICAL

LOGIC HERE WOULD SUPPORT THE OPPOSITE THESIS. RATHER THAN WAIT UNTIL OUR FRIENDS ARE IN POWER WE SHOULD TRY AND INTRODUCE THE PEAK PERIOD OF PRESSURE WHILE RADICALS ARE STILL IN CHARGE. TO DO OTHERWISE IS LIKE WAITING UNTIL YOUR FRIENDS SIT IN THE CHAIR BEFORE YOU TOUCH OFF THE TNT UNDER IT.

4. SINCE MOST OF THE REFUGEES WILL EVENTUALLY MAKE THEIR WAY HERE ONE WAY OR ANOTHER OUR POLITICAL CHOICES ARE ESSENTIALLY ONES OF TIMING. IDEALLY ONE WOULD HAVE A TOTAL EFFORT RIGHT NOW WHICH WOULD DE-ESCALATE DRAMATICALLY WHEN AND IF "MODERATES" COME INTO POWER. WE WOULD COMPENSATE FOR ADE-ESCALATION BY MASSIVE RELIEF HERE, PREFERABLY UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES TO AVOID CASTING TOO MUCH OF A U.S. SHADOW OVER A NEW GOVERNMENT.

5. THE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN THAT ANINCRASE IN OUR EFFORT WOULD AID VASCO GONCALVES MAY HAVE BEEN VALID AT ONE TIME BUT HAS SINCE BEEN TOTALLY OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. NOBODY THINKS WE ARE BACKING GONCALVES AND TWO MORE AIRPLANES BRINGING IN ANTI-COMMUNISTS ARE NOT GOING TO ALTER THIS VIEW. TO THE CONTRARY SUCH A MOVE IS LIKELY TO BE READ HERE AS ANTI-GONCALVES. THE MODERATES, INCLUDING THOSE LINKED TO " THE NINE" ARE URGING US TO STEP UP OUR EFFORT. CAPTAIN TOMAZ ROSA CALLED AT 2:00 A.M. THE OTHER MORNING WITH A CODED MESSAGE FROM ANTUNES REQUESTING THAT WE DO MORE. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR HAS URGED LONDON TO BRING BACK THE REFUGEES "GUNS AND ALL."

6. IF IT IS DESIRABLE FROM BOTH A POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN PERSPECTIVE TO TRANSPORT AS MANY REFUGEES AS POSSIBLE WITHIN COST LIMITATIONS, THE USE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS BECOMES A SECOND LEVEL DECISION. MY CONVERSATIONS WITH MY WESTERN COLLEAGUES LEAD ME TO BELIEVE THAT THEIR CONSTRAINTS ARE FINANCIAL AND AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY WOULD BE UNABLE TO PRODUCE MORE EFFORT THAN A UNILATERAL GOP REQUEST. ON THE FACE OF IT SUCH AN AGENCY WOULD SEEM TO INTRODUCE AN ADDITIONAL LAYER INSTEAD OF REDUCING COSTS, BUT IF I AM MISTAKEN AND THIS WOULD BE A QUICKER WAY TO GET PEOPLE HERE THEN I AM IN FAVOR OF USING SUCH A BODY.

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7. WE ARE NOW BRINGING OUT ABOUT 500 PEOPLE A DAY. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND WE DOUBLE THAT FIGURE. PLEASE LET ME KNOW HOW I CAN BEST PURSUE MY RECOMMENDATION.  
CARLUCCI

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## Message Attributes

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